The Framers of the Constitution Knew What They Were Talking About.

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A writer in the Evening Post of Monday last protends that a letter of JAMES MADIson, dated Jan. 29, 1789, contains a revelation, and shows that the words "direct taxes" were used in contradistinction to "requisitions," by the framers of the Federal Constitution, and that they never conmidered the question of direct or indirect taxes from a politico-economic point of view. He thus states his propositions:

"Indirect taxes were taxes procured indirectly by 'requisitions' on the States; direct faxes were taxes laid directly by the Federal Covernment. The framers of the Constitution evidently had never looked at the spilled from the subject from a politice-economic point of view; taxation; the term 'direct taxes,' as they used it, did not refer to the kind or character or nature of the tax, but to the fact that such taxes were no longer to be faid indirectly through 'requisitions' upon the States, but directly upon the taxpayer by the newly consti-tuted taxing power."

The proposition that the words "direct taxes" in the First Article of the Federal Constitution were used in contradistinction to regulations, is untenable and unsound, and this must be apparent to any student familiar with the early constitutional history of this country. The requisitions drawn upon the several States which formed the Confederation in 1777 were direct taxes levied upon the States, because the requisition was made by the then central Government or Congress, first, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, and, subsequently, by the amendment adopted by Congress in 1793, in proportion to the whole number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants, including those bound to servitude for a term of years, and three-fifths of all other persons, except Indians not paying taxes, in each State.

A tax levied in proportion to the value of land within each State is a tax upon land, and therefore it is a direct tax. The subsequent amendment providing that the several States should supply the common treasury in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, still left the requisition, in so far as the parent Government was concerned, a direct tax, no matter how such tax might be collected by each State within its own borders. As MADISON expressed it, Congress "have a right to fix the quantum of money necessary for the common purposes. The right of the States is limited to the mode of supply."

And it is noteworthy that the Constitution provides that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States in the same manner as that which had been adopted in reference to requisitions by the Confederation in 1783, only four years earlier, although the phraseology was slightly changed.

Article VIII. of the Articles of Confederation of 1777 reads as follows:

"All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land, within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land, and the buildings and improvements thereon, shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint."

The amendment of 1783 revokes the first paragraph of Article VIII, and provides as

"That all charges of war, and all other expenses, that have been, or shall be, lacurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, except so far as shall be otherwise provided for shall be defrayed out of a tommon treasury, which shall be supplied by the sevtra! States in proportion to the whole number of white and other free citizens and inhabitants, of every servitude for a term of years, and three-fifths of all other persons not comprehended in the foregoing de-

And the very letter of Madison's referred so in the Evening Post shows that Madi-40N, although his language is at times ambignous, did not strictly regard requisitions and direct taxes as terms opposed to each other, but that he regarded a requisition as a direct tax raised, not by the general Government, but by the State Government, at the request of the general Governme t:

"From the reasoning of many on this subject would seem as if the question concerning requisitions and direct towes was whether direct taxes shall be tovici or not. This is by no means the case. If ex two-dinary aids for the public safety shall not be necessary, direct taxes will not be necessary. If ex-traordinary emergencies call for such aids, the only question will be achether direct taxes shall be raised by Government shall require the State Government shall require the State Government shall require the State Governments to raise them; or, in other words, whether they shall be raised in all the States, or be raised in some States whilst others unjustry withdraw their shoulders from

The word "them" refers plainly to direct taxes. And how could the general Government require the State Governments to raise them? By requisitions only.

Indirect taxes were not understood to be requisitions as contradistinguished from all taxes laid directly by the Federal Govern ment, but, on the contrary, in so far as the Confederacy and the several States within it were concorned, a requisition was a direct tax collected through the intermediation of each State Government. And the question was whether direct taxes should be laid by the general Government or should be collected, as formerly, by means of requisitions

Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania said in the House of Representatives on Jan. 27, 1783; "Tos peculiar repugnance of the people of the United States to taxes, I suppose, proceeds first from the oflouslight in which they had been, under the old Government, in the habit of regarding them.

Secondly: From the direct manner in which taxes to this country have been iald. " It must be remembered that the com mon treasury, or the Treasury of the United States, under the Confederation was supplied solely by requisitions, and that this common treasury was to pay, not only all charges of war and all other expenses incurred for the common defence, but all the ordinary expenses of government incurred for the general welfare. It was found that there were two cardinal defects in the Articles of Confederation; there was no power to compel the States to pay the requisitions

drawn upon them, and there was no power to regulate trade. The radical infirmity of the Articles of Confederation, said James Madison, was the dependence of Congress on the several States for compliance with the requisition. The money could not be collected, because, as stated by ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in his great speech on the impost grant, the States, with the exception of New York and

Pennsylvania, would not pay: "The universal delinquency of the States during the war shall be passed over with the bare mention of it. The public or barrasaments were a plausible apology for that delinquency, and it was hoped the react would have produced greater punctuality. The ex-periment has disappointed that hope to a degree which confounds the bast sanguine. A comparative view of the compilance of the several States for the last five years will furnish a striking result. During that period, as appears by a ristement on our dies, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Caroline, and Georgia have paid nothing. I say nothing, because the carly actual payment is the trifling sum of

about seven thousand dotters by New Hampshire Bouth Carolina, indeed, has credits, but these are serely by way of discount on the supplies furnished by her during the war, in consideration of her pecu-liar sufferings and exertions while the immediate theatre of tt.

"Connecticut and Delaware have paid about one-third of their requisitions; Massachusetts, Rhode Islaed, and Haryland, about one-half; Virginia, about three-fifths; Pennsylvania, nearly the whole, and New York, more than her quota."

Each State had its own Custom House system, and conflicting scales of duties interfered with the general prosperity, and it was found necessary to give Congress some power of superintending the commercial regulations of every State, in order that the common interest should be motected.

These two defects in the old Confederacy, that is, the impossibility of enforcing the payment of requisitions and the lack of power to regulate trade, were the most potent causes of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. And it would seem extraordinary, therefore, to argue that the difference between direct taxes and indirect taxes as used by politico-economists was not understood by men who were obliged for years prior to 1787 to consider carefully the question of indirect taxes as involved in the proposed power to regulate trade and the proposed duties upon imposts.

The writer in the Evening Post says JAMES MADISON is a witness who is conceded to have stood highest in the world of the framers of the Constitution. JAMES Madison was undoubtedly a great man, but he is no better witness than ALEXANDER HAMILTON, OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, OF LUTHER MARTIN, the words of whom clearly show that the distinction between direct and indirect taxes was understood in the Constitutional Convention.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON in his speech on the impost grant said:

"This would be an augmentation of our national revenue by indirect taxation to the extent of eighty thousand pounds a year; an immense object in a sin-gle State, and which alone demonstrates the good pol-

"It is no objection to say that a great part of this fund will be dedicated to the use of the United States. Their exigencies must be applied in some way or other. The more is done toward it by means of the topost, the less will be to be done in other modes. If we do not employ that resource to the best account, we must find others in direct taxation. And to this are opposed all the habits and prejudices of the com-munity. There is not a farmer in the State who would not pay a shilling in the voluntary consumption of articles on which a duty is pain rather than a penny imposed immediately on his house and land.

And in Mr. Havetyton's first plan of government, which was submitted to the Constitucional Convention, section 4 of Article

"Taxes on lands, houses, and other real estate, and capitation taxes shall be proportioned in each State by the who's number of free persons, except India is not taxed, and by three-fifths of all other persons."

And in the South Carolina plan, submitted to the Convention by CHARLES PINCENEY, we find this provision: "The proportion of direct taxation shall be regulated by the whole number of inhabitants

of every description." A further proof that the framers of the Constitution considered the term "direct taxes" from the politico-economic view is found in the letter addressed to the Maryland Legislature by LUTHER MARTIN, Attorney-General of Maryland, and one of the delegates from that State to the Constitutional Convention. In this letter, which is dated Jan. 27, 1788, and gives a history of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention, Mr. MARTIN says:

" By the power to lay and collect imposts, they may impose duties on any or every article of commerce imported into these States, to what amount they please. By the power to lay excises, a power very edious in its nature, since it authorizes officers to en Into your houses, your kitchens, your cellars, and to examine into your private concerns, the Congress may impose duties on every article of use or consumption, on the food that we eat, on the liquors that we drink on the clothes that we wear, the glass which en-lightens our houses, or the hearths necessary for our warmth and comfort. By the power to lay and collect taxes, they may proceed to direct faxation on every individual, either by a capitation tax on the heads or an assessment on their property. By this part of the section, therefore, the Government have power to lay what duties they please on goods im ported; to lay what duties they please, afterward, on whatever we use or consume; to impose stamp duties to what amount they please, and in whatever case taxes, by capitation tax, or by assessment, to what amount they choose, and thus to sluice them at every vein as long as they have a drop of blood, without any control, limitation, or restraint."

But the most conclusive proof of the ab surdity of the contention that the framers of the Constitution never looked at the subject from a politico-economic point of view, and had never given a thought to the philosophy of taxation, is found in the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention on July 12, 1787, when the provision as to direct taxation was adopted. In the record of the proceedings we find a contemporaneous definition of the meaning of indirect taxes by GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, the author of the Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS moved to add

to the clause empowering the Federal Legislature to vary the representation ac cording to the principles of wealth and numbers of inhabitants a proviso "that taxation shall be in proportion to representation." He admitted that some objections lay against his motion, but supposed "they would be removed by restraining the rule to direct taxation. With regard to indirect taxes on exports and imports, and on consumption the rule would be inapplicable." Mr. Wilson approved the principle, but could not see how it could be carried into execution unless restrained to direct taxation. Mr. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS having so varied his motion by inserting the word 'direct," it passed nem. con. as follows: provided always that direct taxation ought to be proportioned to representation."

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS was one of the greatest men in the Convention. As a finaneier he was second to none, with the possible exception of ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Madison tells us that the finish to the style of the Constitution was due to the pen of GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, and MADISON speaks of the brilliancy of his genius. It must be admitted that Morris knew what he was talking about.

The debates in the various State conventions held to ratify the Federal Constitution show that the distinction between direct and indirect taxes was well under stood, and that the members of those conventions did not confuse a direct or indirect mode of collection with the question whether the tax itself was direct or indirect

THEODORE SEDGWICK was a member of the Massachusetts Convention in 1788, and was subsequently Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives. On June 5, 1794, Congress imposed a duty on carriages and in the debate in the House on the bill Mr. SEDGWICK discussed the question of direct taxes. He said:

"To obviate certain mischief, the Constitution pro vided that capitation and other direct taxes should be proportioned according to the ratio prescribed in

"So far as I have been able to form an optaion there has been a general concurrence in a belief that the ultimate sources of public contributions were la-bor and the subjects and effects of labor; that taxes, being permanent, had a tendency to equalize and to dif fuse themselves through a community According to these opinions a capitation tax and taxes on land and on property and income generally were a direct charge, as well in the immediate as ultimate sources of contribution. I have considered those, and those only.

as direct taxes in their operation and effects. On the other hand, a tax imposed on a specific article of per-sonal property, and particularly of objects of luxury, as in the case under consideration. I have never sup-posed has been considered a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution. The case tion is, indeed, trectly of the owner, but by the equalizing operat of which all taxes more or less partock, it creates an indirect charge on others besides the owners."

Under the Articles of Confederation, requisitions supplied money for the expenses of war and also for the current expenses of government. Under the Constitution, imposts and excises were de signed to pay the ordinary expenses of Government, and direct taxes were designed to be levied by apportionment only in the emergency of war; so that, under the new system, imposts and excises supplied part of the functions of the requisition, and direct taxes another part of the functions of the requisition. Under the system of the Confederation there were no indirect taxes levied by the general Government. Under the new system there were indirect taxes, such as imposts and excises, and also an apportioned direct tax.

It is clear from the record of history that imposts and excises were considered by the framers of the Constitution as indirect taxes, and that taxes upon lands or real estate and capitation taxes were considered direct taxes. The only question which has remained in doubt was whether they considered an income tax to fall within the one category or the other. It is certain that they never would have endorsed the theory of the Supreme Court that an income tax is an excise. ADAM SMITH was the great contemporaneous writer on questions of taxation, and with his writings the fathers of the Constitution were familiar. It is not improbable that they considered an income tax to be in reality a capitation tax, for such is the view held by ADAM SMITH in his great work.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in the Continen-

talist, on July 12, 1781, said: "As a sufficient revenue could not be raised from trade to answer the public purposes, other articles have been proposed. A moderate land and poll tax being of easy and unexpensive collection, and leaving nothing to discretion, are the simplest and best that could be devised. • • It has been objected to a poll tax at a fixed rate, that it will be unequal, and the rich will pay no more than the poor. In the form in which it has been offered in these papers the poor, properly speaking, are not comprehended, though it s true, that beyond the exclusion of the indigent, th far has no reference to the proportion of property, but it should be remembered that it is impossible to de-vise any specific tax that will operate equally on the

He refers, in these words, to a form of a poll tax proposed by him in number four of the Continentalist in these words:

"A moderate capitation tax on every male inhab itant above lifteen years of age, exclusive of common soldiers, common seamen, day laborers, cottagers, and paupers, to be also vested in perpetuity, and with the me condition of collection."

The poll tax or capitation tax thus pro posed by HAMILTON was not to be levied on certain classes in the community, such as day laborers or cottagers; and when he says that his form had no reference to the proportion of property beyond the exclusion of the indigent, he clearly implies that a capitation tax could be devised which should have reference to the proportion of property, and which would, therefore, be nothing more or less than an income tax.

It would seem clear from LUTHER MAR-TIN's statement and from THEODORE SEDG-WICK's speech that the leading men of that time considered an assessment upon personal property to be a direct tax; and an assessment upon the income of personal property is the same thing as an assessment upon personal property, just as a tax on the rents of real estate is in essence the same thing as a tax on the land itself.

These proofs and the definition of "indirect taxes" given by GOUVERNEUR MORRIS were cited by Representative BARTLETT of this city in the final fight against the income tax led by him in the House in Jan-

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

New York Democrats Have Fared Better Than New York Republicans.

Should Gov. Levi P. Morton be a candidate for the Presidential nomination at the Republican National Convention in 1896, he would be likely to develop more strength there than any New York Republican suggested for the honor in many years. The first Republican National Convention was held in Philadelphia on June 17, 1856. At that Convention the Republicans of New York had no candidate, and their support was given to John C. Fremont. At the Republican National Convention of 1860, in Chicago, the New York Republicans did have a candidate, giving their hearty support to William H. Seward. He was the most formidable candidate for the nomination, but on the decisive ballot was defeated by Mr. Lincoln. At the Convention of 1864, in Baltimore, and

at that of 1808, in Chicago, the Republicans of New York had no candidate. Neither did they have one at the Philadelphia convention of 1872. At the Chicago Convention of 1876 Roscoe Conkiling, United States Senator, had the support of the New York delegation, but it was a perfunctory support, with no expectation that he would be, or could be, chosen. He was put in nomination by Stewart L. Woodford, and received on the first ballot 99 votes. Mr. Blaine had 285, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana 124, and Secretary Bristow 113. Mr. Conkling's voto declined on each succeeding ballot up to the seventh, when his supporters deserted him, and Hayes was nominated. At the Chicago Convention of 1884, the Republicans of New York had no candidate. At that of 1888 Chauncey M. Depew was the ostensible candidate of the New York Republicans under circumstances very similar to those which prevailed in the Convention of 1876, twelve years before, and it is a somewhat peculiar fact that Mr. Depew's vote tion of 1876, twelve years before, and it is a somewhat peculiar fact that Mr. Depew's vote on the first ballot was exactly the same as Mr. Conkling's—99. He continued in the field for three ballots, and then his name was withdrawn. At the Minucapolis Convention of 1882 the Republicans of New York were without a candidate. The delegation was split up, ten of its members voting for Mr. Blaine, twenty-seven for the renomination of Prasident Harrison, and ten for Mr. McKinler. If, therefore, as some politicians expect, Mr. Morton seeks the Republican nomination next year, he will be the first veritable candidate from this State since Mr. Seward had the enthusiastic support of New York Republicans in the national Convention of 1809. Political conditions are much more favorable to the nomination of a Republican candidate from New York next year than they have been for a long time. While the Republicans of New York have been almost continuously without a candidate for Presidential honors, the Domocrats of New York have fared remarkably well. George B. McClelian, who was living in this city at that time, though technically a resident of New Jersey, headed the Democratic ticket of 1814, and Horatio Seymour, a resident of Vica, that of 1868. Horace Greeiey and Samuel J. Tilden, both residents of New York city, headed the Democratic tickets respectively in 1872 and 1878. Gen. Hancock, who was at the time a resident of Governor's Island, within the city boundaries of New York. Was the Democratic candidate for President in 1888, and 1892, so that practically for thirity years New York Democratic have had the honors of Presidential nomination.

The bicycle craze attacks all ranks of life, and is constantly gaining new recruits. The Princess Adolphus of Teck is the last addition from English royalty to the bicycle brigade, and, like the majority of English women, she wears dainty costume of light tweed made with dainty costume of light tweed made with a short skirt, which reaches to the top of the gaiters and is lined with pretty bale-colored slik, which also makes the blouse, worn under a short coat. The gaiters match the skirt, and are worn over patent leather shoes. Tweed knickerbockers usually, but not always, accompany this style of dress. In Paris the woman who wears a skirt for bicycling is looked upon by her emancipated sisters with contempt for her lingering fondness for petticoats and effentinate ideas of dress.

"COME-ONS" IN POLITICS. REVIEW OF THE POSITION OF THE

Natther North nor South Does Their In-Suence Benefit Them-The Present Muddie in South Carolina-Republican Condidnien Since 1876 Have Been Strictly Opposed to Waving the Bloody Shirt.

AFRO-AMERICANS.

The injunction issued against the registration and election officers of South Carolina by Judge Goff of the United States Circuit Court, which will prevent the election of delegates to make a new Constitution for South Carolina, the corner stone of which was to have been white suprem acy, has provoked more consideration of the question of the Afro-American in politics than anything since the Force bill was stabbed to death in the house of its friends in the campaign of 1892. This was done at the instance of Mr. James G. Blaine, first, in his letter to Mr. Joseph H. Manley, his faithful Heutenant, and later in an article in the North American Review, in which he defined and discussed the issues of the pending campaign. His lead was followed by Mr. Harrison and Mr. Reid, the candidates of the party, who ran away from the issue.

The fifth section of the Minneapolis platform of 1892 was abandoned by Mr. Harrison and his managers because they were afraid to stake the issue upon it, and in doing so they insured the election of Mr. Cleveland. Had the Republicans met the issue squarely, instead of running away from it and seeking to ignore it, Mo. Harrison might not have been defeated. is nothing the American voter despises more than cowardice in candidates for office upor vital features of the policy of their party as laid down in the party platform.

If the regular Democrats, who came into power in 1876, had remained in control of affairs n South Carolina the present condition of affairs, brought about by Judge Goff's injunction, would not have been precipitated. The present Constitution of South Carolina was adopted by he Republicans in 1868. It was found ample for all purposes up to 1876. When the Hampton Democracy came into power in that year they proceeded to enact registration and election which should insure white supremacy. These laws were amended from time to time, so that the present system was built up. While they remain on the statute books of it would be as impossible to prevent white supremacy as to have black supremacy in New York. This state of affairs existed when Tillman and his Populist party overcame the regular Democrats in 1890, From the very first the respectable elements of the white population refused to acknowledge Tillman's leadership and countenance his buccancering party. When they discovered this, a systematic effort was begun to capture the Democratic organization, This was stoutly re-sisted by Senator Wade Hampton, Senator M. C. Butler, Dr. Sampson Pope, who is responsible for bringing the injunction proceedings, as the defeated Gubernatorial candidate against Mr. Evans, by the Charleston News and Courier, and

other influential Democratic forces.

The Tilimanites soon discovered that they could not capture the regular Democratic orcanization with Populist theories of administration. Heroic measures were needed. They were discovered and applied in the issue of white supremacy. No white man in South Carolina could stand outside of the Tillman ranks with that as the issue without having traitor stamped on his brow. It practically consoli-dated the white vote under the Tillman banner. The News and Courier was among the first forces of the regular Democracy to capitulate. The Till-man Populists thus gained their point upon an issue which had no menace or force in it. It was a trick of demagogues, of political brigands, pure and simple. At this point Judge Goff stepped in, with the power of the United States behind him, and brought about a condition which the Tillmanites did not anticipate, and which has thrown them into a state bordering on desperation. They see all power crumbling beneath them. Do they deserve most the pity or the contempt of mankind?

The Tillman Populists of South Carolina revived an issue which had not been a disturbing element since 1876 until the Lodge Federal Elections bill was brought forward in the Fifty. first Congress. A review of the part the bloody shirt has played in our politics since 1876 will disclose some interesting points in political strategy and sharp practice in which the Afro-American voter was always used as the dupe and tool of the Republican leaders.

In the campaign of 1880 the bloody shirt issue was stricken out with Gen. Garfield's blue pencil. It happened in this way: A delegation pencil. It happened in this way: A delegation of Afro-Americans called upon Gen. Garfield after his nomination at Mentor. Ex-Congressman Robert Browns Elliott of South Carolina was spokesman of the delegation. Before Gen. Garfield would consent to receive the delegation in public he insisted upon having "Gen." Elliott—who got his military title from a carpetlag Governor of South Carolina—read to him in private the address he had prepared. He then ran his blue pencil through all the blood and thunder passages it contained, remarking that what Afro-Americans needed above everything clae was more of Webster's "Blue Black Speller." When Gen. Elliott read his little speech to Gen. Garfield in public, so that the newspaper reporters could hear it, it was a very harmless production. There was no bloody shirt in it. Gen. Garfield was a Blaine Half Breed and not a Conking Staiwart. It will be remembered, however, that in this campaign Senator Conking, after a visit to Mentor, where he had gone upon urgent invitation, fired the first gun of the Garfield campaign in New York city and made the bloody shirt issue the leading feature of his impassioned speech, which proved to be the lawt of the long series he had delivered on the stump. He stood by this issue to the last, with the pertinacity with which he stood by President Grant and the third-term Waterloo, with his 306, in the Chicago Convention of 1880. In the Blaine campaign of 1884 the bloody shirt issue played no part at all. Mr. Blaine had never taken any stock in it. He had left the Speaker's chair in the House of Representatives in the Forty-third Congress to sweak against the first Force bill, and he succeeded in killing it. He believed in leiting the South alone to manage 'ts own affairs on the home rule principle. He had his doubts about this after his deleat by the skin of his teeth by Mr. Cleveland, as the following extract from his Augusta speech, delivered after his defeat in the November elections, will show:

Gentlemen, there cannot be political inequality of Afro-Americans called upon Gen. Garfield after his nomination at Mentor. Ex-Congress-

by the Southern men who fought to destroy the Union.

Mr. Blaine failed to carry New York by only
1.047 votes, and therefore failed of election.
How many Afro-Americans remained away
from the polls or refused to vote for Mr. Blaine
in New York State because of Mr. Blaine's acknowledged antagonism to them and the bumptious attitude of his managers, all of which was
industriously and theroughly ventilated in
thannels where this class of voters would be influenced by it?

In the campaign of 1888 Mr. Matthew Stanley industriously and thoroughly ventilated in channels where this class of voters would be influenced by it?

In the campaign of 1888 Mr. Matthew Stanley Quay of Pennsylvania, Mr. Harrison's manager, was too shrewd to force the bloody shirt issue to the front on the stump; it became public property in her suit against Gen. Clarkson, the Chairman of the Executive Committee, that Miss Anna E. Dickinson was called off and turned down in the heat of the campaign, because she insisted upon scoring the South and its political methods, despite the instructions she received to the contrary from headquarters. But this was under cover. Campaign spellbinders and followed them. Mr. Quay threw cayenne pepper in the eyes of Afro-American politicians by giving them a big headquarters in New York, with Mr. Frederick Douglass at the head of it, "The man and brother" was instructed to get off in a corner by himself and yell defiance at the South to his heart's content, and he did so, and was baid for it by Mr. Quay, and was happy. But none of his defiance got into the party organs or through Mr. Quay's literary bureau. By this strategic straddling Mr. Quay pulled Mr. Harrison through, and was promptly turned down and subordinated to Mr. John Wanamaker for his splendid services.

Hut Mr. Harrison had no sooner got into the White Hou-e than he began to build up a white Republican party in the South, with Mr. Parsons of Alahama as chief builder and patronage dispenser. The policy raised such a storm of indignation and protest, and threatened to drive away so many Southern delegates from Mr. Harrison in the Convention of 1892, that he reluctantly abandoned it, and Mr. Parsons dropped out of consequence and public notice as rapidly as a detached star gyrating through space. He has not been heard of since.

The distrast of President Harrison caused by the Parsons break followed him through all of

our shores as we can assimilate.
Europeans seeking new homes will not seek
them under a monarchical government. The
fallure of Canada to attract them proves it.

his Administration, and threatened to defeat his renomination at Minneapolis. In the campaign that ensued, as before stated, the attitude of the candidates on the Force bill issue in tude of the candidates on the Force bill issue in tude of the candidates on the Force bill issue in tude of the candidates on the Force bill issue in managers in the Fire came; a back. The managers were shut off from all who did not have the countersign by from bars made into gates and cages, with a trusty sent of the property of a needle. One such politician from Louisians, the Chairman who have treated with as much roughness and gruffness as the property of the pro

the name.

With the advent of new issues in our politics.

With the advent of new issues in our politics on these issues. With the advent of new issues in our pointes and the realignment of parties on three issues, and with the increasing intelligence of Afro-American voters, they should, in the course of time, become as divided in their political opinions as any of the other class of our electorate; but there has not teen any radical tendency in that direction in the past twenty years.

Thomas FORTUNE.

CANADA CAN'T GET IMMIGRANTS. The Enormous Cost and Petty Results of

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN-Sir: In an editorial article entitled "The Cost of the Northwest," the Toronto Globe estimates the expenditure of the Dominion Government in promoting the settlement of the Canadian Northwest at \$125,000,000.

This does not include the value of nearly 40,000,000 acres of the best farm lands in the fertile belt between Winnipeg and the eastern given to railway and other corporations as subsidies to promote and stimulate development. A large sum has also been expended by the Government of Manitoba to induce immigration and settlement. Private capital has also been invested in various ways with the

same end in view.

At one time no less than seventy colonization land companies were organized, and large tracts of land were purchased from the Government at low prices and on liberal terms for resale to settlers, who were expected to rush in and buy

them at an advance.
In 1881, when Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper were urging Parliament to approve of the contract made with the Stephens syndicate for the construction of a transcontinental railway, they predicted that the receipts of the Government from the sale of publi lands would very largely repay the cost to the Government of the Canadian Pacific Railway's subsidies, and that the population ere this time fruits of this vast expenditure in money and

All but three of the colonization land companies have failed and abandoned their lands. The receipts from sales of lands by the Government have scarcely more than paid the cost of surveys. The increase in population in Manitoba and the Territories east of British Columbia does not exceed 125,000. It is not greater than the gain in the population of St. Paul from 1880 to 1890. Seventy-three per cent. of the population of Manitoba and 95 per cent. of that of the Territories is Canadian born.

The total number of foreign-born inhabitants does not exceed 45,000. A large percentage of them were residents of the eastern provinces before they removed to Manitoba. It is doubtful if 25,000 people have been induced to immigrate to Canada and settle in the Northwest as the result of the vast expenditure to open up to settlement a territory ten times the area of New York. A system of smilgrant agencies has been established and maintained in Great Britain and upon the Continent. Special inducements have been offered to the Icelanders, crofters, and Russian Mennonites. Passages have been paid from Liverpool and Glasgow to Winnipeg, and farms offered to all the male members of a family 18 years old and upward, but to no purpose. The lands are productive and the climate is healthful, but immigrants from Europe will not settle there. If the lands were in Dakota, they would sell readily to actual settlers at from \$5 to \$10 per acro, whereas they are refused as a gift in Manitoba.

In 1865, Sir John A. Macdonald predicted that as a result of confederation the population of the Dominion in 1885 would be \$8,000,000. It was little more than one-half of it at that date. No people have done more through their Government to encourage immigration than the Canadians in proportion to their means. No country has greater undeveloped resources. The forests, mines, and fisheries of Canada are almost inexhaustible. Her people are free, moral, intelligent, industrious, and self-reliant. Her schools are unsurpassed. The climate is healthful and vigorous. The soil is rich. The means of intercommunication are good. Life and property is as secure as in any country in the world, and yet Canada cannot induce immigration to her shores and retain it under the British flag. The total number of foreign-born inhabitants does not exceed 45,000. A large percentage of

migration to her shores and retain it under the British flag.

How different our own experience has been! How different our own experience has been! For the past fifty years our increase in population has averaged 25 per cent, for each period of ten years. We have not as a government maintained any immigrant agencies. We have not paid ocean passages. Our Government, as such, has not encouraged immigration, and yet one-fourth of all living Canadians are citizens of this republic, and 90 per cent. of all immigrants from Europe who land in Canada come to us. There are as many Canadians in the city of Boston as foreigners in the Canadian Northwest who have been induced to settle there by the enormous expenditure of \$125,000,000. Our free institutions attract as many immigrants to our shores as we can assimilate.

Europeans seeking new homes will not seek

FRANCIS WAYLAND GLEN.

UP IN A FLYING MACHINE.

A RIDE ON ONE OF CARL MIERS'S AIR BICYCLES.

The Machine a Modification of the Balloon and Dirigible to Some Extent-Uses to Which It May Be Put-A Motor Needed. A Sun reporter took a ride through the air reently on the flying machine or air bicycle invented by Carl Myers. Mr. Myers lives at Frankfort, Herkimer county. N. Y., in the beautiful Mohawk Valley. He has done much good work for the Weather Bureau of the United States by means of scientifically conducted balloon ascensions, both with passengers and with-out, and has made it possible to obtain impor-tant data as to atmospheric densities and dryness, wind currents, and other elements over valleys and plains. Mr. Myers met the reporter at the station, drove him up to the house, and

speedily introduced him to the air bicycle. It is a curious and ingenious affair, and looks like a large balloon or bag shaped like a boat turned bottom uppermost, It is rounded on top and flat at the bottom, slightly hollowing toward the centre, as an inverted boat would. The bag is filled with hydrogen. Attached to the net-ting which covers the bag are two stays, which support a very light but strong skeleton of steel. On this is placed a bicycle saddle, with a bicycle handle in front and cranks and pedals below. Instead of wheels the pedals (and the handles also when desired) operate a piston rod, which extends about fourteen feet shead, and on which

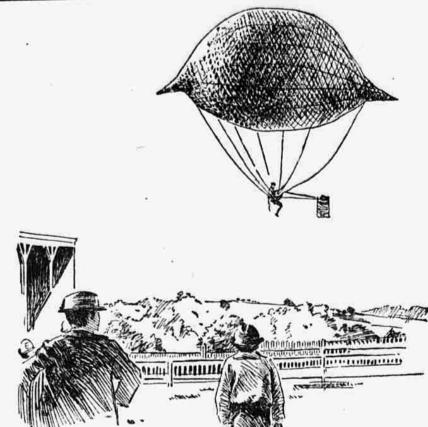
will simply land on your feet and be ready to try again. I'll follow you as soon as you are up."

Is looked easy enough, and the reporter did as he was told. He kave the required spring and went up, light as a feather.

"Take your time," came from below, "Quistly now; lean back a little! Here I come," and in another minute Mr. Myers was alconside, about fifty feet the two circled around awnile, about fifty feet the two circled around awnile, until the reporter was as much at home as if on a wheel on the road, the only curious sensation being that of a very powerful wind blowing right past his face without touching it. This was caused by the helix blowing into the inverted bout above.

"Now come along," said Myers, "and I'll show you the country."

Up the two went nearly a hundred feet, with a feeling of perfect security. The glen from which they rose is on high ground and covered with timber, standing in the centre of the beautiful Mohawk Vailey. Down the hill twisted the gray, snake-like road, in and out, round clumps of trees, open fields, and berry patches, until it was lost in the thicker timber a mile or until it was lost in the thicker timber a mile or as away. Six or seven hundred yards of ran so away, Six or seven hundred yards of ran so away, Six or seven hundred yards of ran on the ground they had been inaudible. The trees were clothed in the rich dazzling green of the great West Shore Kaliroad shops, of the great was a dated as a came, and further on were the smoky chimneys of the great was a charten on the ground they had been inaudible. The trees were clothed in the rich dazzling green of the first days of spring, and the tops spread mit like a vast green carpet dotted here and there with the dogwood or other blooms. The pattern constantly changed, like a kaleidoscope, as the light wind swayed the branches to and fro. I most curious thing was the foreshortening of the trunks, which were scarrely perceptible, and formed a light groundwork to the upper green like the lower stratum of a Wilfon carpet.



twelve miles an hour was an advantage as far as labor or speed was concerned. Owing to the backward tilt of the spindle the head wind rushed underneath, forcing it upward instead of backward only. This is easily understood when in the saidle, but perhaps is rather mystifying to any but an aerial expert.

Finding that the reporter was content with his achievements, and would not go higher, Mr. Myers cried "Good-by" and ascended to about 1.000 feet, it seemed, in a few minutes, circling round and round the valley, eventually descending and rejoining the reporter at the lower elevation. is fitted a hollow tube racheted onto or cogged into the mechanism operated by the pedal. At the extreme end of this tube rigid steel arm, which, when at rest, lies at right angles to the head, and about six feet nearer the rider is a corresponding arm rigidly fixed on the tubes. On these two arms of steel is stretched a piece of light canvas, hanging perpendicularly down in the same plane as from this to feet of the rider, and looking like the topsail of a ship beating to windward. When the pedals are operated the steel arm at the extreme end of the shaft is turned back and forth, and this action twists and untwists the sail into a right and then into a left hand helix, such as would be produced by taking a square sheet of paper with one hand at each end, and twisting the hands in opposite directions. This action of the cloth produces a current of wind, which strikes backward and upward against the under surface of the shillon, and causes it to soar up in the air. The machine is like the toy balloons one buys at the dry goods stores for children, which will not rise by themselves, but blow under them and up they go. The entire weight of this machine is about fifteen pounds. The hydrogen is made from water by a patent process of Mr. Myers, and its purpose is simply to counteract the weight of the rider. There is no radder. To rise it is only necessary to lean backward and work the pedals; to descend one leans in the direction desired. In short, it is like riding a bicycle, except that there is no front wheel to turn. The rider is no front wheel to turn the sail pendicularly down in the same plane as from chin to feet of the rider, and looking like the

CHICAGO RESTAURANTS.

Mostly in Cellars and Subject to the Danger of Sudden Floods.

Not all Chicago eating houses are in cellars probably not more than 90 percent, of them. It is hardly necessary for them to have signs. You need only look out for a clothing store offering a misfit suit worth \$50 at \$7, and you are pretty certain to find a stairway that leads you down to a department for the inner man. cellar eating houses are lavishly decorated with plate glass and marble, and furnished with steam and water pipes. To be sure, the pipes are wrapped in canvas and painted in colors



A DOUBTFUL LOOKING PLACE.

that harmonize, but the sounds are not hidden The gurgling noises are suggestive of an ocean voyage. These restaurants are interesting. During one of the frequent floods the water had been known to rise two and one-half feet in a few minutes. The employees and clitzens know the signs of a flood, and look out for themselves, but the stranger not so well informed is apt to be embarrassed and is liable to get a ducking. So far no case of drowning has occurred, for the customers are able to seek asfety on the tables and chairs. Yet there is danger, and life preservers ought to be provided.

The service is not good. Perhaps this can be accounted for on the theory that a good salesman is not necessarily a good waiter, and that employees are selected to do duty in the clothing store above as well as in the restaurant beneath. These restaurants necessarily have very low collings and are without ventilation, except by transoms, after the plan of steam cars. When these are opened in wet weather the rain bests in but the nuisance thus arising is not nearly so bad as the dust which in dry The gurgling noises are suggestive of an ocean

weather blows in. As to prices, they are higher than in the East, while the food and cooking are not so good. Chicago has



some fame for supplying toothsome white-fish, splendid hams, fresh eggs, and sweet but-ter, and naturally the stranger expects them in Chicago; but he gets fish that has been frozen, the best hams go East, the eggs come from col-



THE NIGHT COSTONERS.

storage, and the butter! well, the largest but-terine factories in the world are in Chicago, Good judgment is displayed in one particular, that you are encouraged to drink freely; if water, you are guaranteed against that of the lake by placards on the wall; if beer, that from St. Louis or Milwaukes is recommended.